

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

PUBLICK AFFAIRS

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN.

WITH

Some Thoughts on the TREATY Concluded and Signed (on what Terms God knows) at *Seville* in *Spain*, between his Catholick Majesty and the King of *Great-Britain*.

In a Letter from W. RALEIGH to
CALEB D'ANVERS, of *Gray's-Inn*, Esq;

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

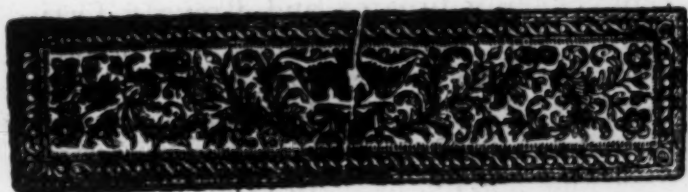
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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

BRITISH ANTIQUITIES

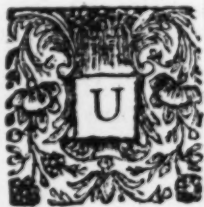




T O

CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq;*

S I R,



PON perusing your Journal of the 15th Instant, I was agreeably amused with the pleasing Prospect that your generous and laudable Designs proposed, in discovering to us your Sentiments upon Sir Richard Steele, concerning the Demolition of *Dunkirk*. But pardon me, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that I inform you that there was a very great Deficiency in the said Letter, not in the Language and Stile, but in concluding so abruptly, without leading us into the Secret that merits both our Attention and Speculation.

Dunkirk

Dunkirk is an excellent Harbour in *France* commodiously situated and strongly fortified both by Art and Nature, and of such an Importance to the *Gallick* Crown, that the Ships stationed in that Port have continually obstructed our Trade and our Navigation, and did us more Damage, during the late War, than all the Ports of the neighbouring Maritime Powers, either in the *Ocean* or the *Mediterranean*, which we have infinitely experienced. If we may give any Credit to the repeated Accounts of Captures published by our Intelligences, our Nation is not secure, if we should ever disagree with *France* (while there are *Pre-tenders* to the Crown of these Realms) for they have an Opportunity of transporting Troops, which, 'till they put out to Sea are secured in the Harbour of *Dunkirk* against the concerted Measures, and the regular Designs of an opulent and powerful Nation, that in former Times was accounted not only an Arbitrator, but a Director both in Peace and War, whose Councils have influenced and terrified the neighbouring World, and whose Glory has been conspicuous in former Ages.

When *Lewis* the Fourteenth, labouring under a pressing Necessity, and the Calamities of a tedious and destructive War, propos'd to the Confederates a Suspension of Arms, and declar'd that he was ready,

bona

bona fide, to enter into Preliminary Articles, in order to settle the Publick Tranquility of *Europe*; our Ministers could entertain no Thoughts of agreeing to a Suspension, or concluding a Peace without the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, with all its Appurtenances. In fine, Matters were so manag'd and carried on by *Great-Britain* and *France*, that *Utrecht* was pitch'd upon to be the Place of Treaty, and Plenipotentiaries were nam'd on all Sides for that End: And tho' most of the Confederates were averse to it, without the Surrender of all the Dominions of *Spain* (the *Indies* included) to the House of *Austria*; yet his most Christian Majesty's Management was such, by cajoling the *English* with agreeing to the intire Demolition of *Dunkirk*, that all its Fortifications should be raz'd, that the Harbour be fill'd up, and that the Sluices and Moles, which serve to cleanse the Harbour, should be levell'd at the King's particular Charge and Expence, within the Space of five Months after the Conditions of Peace were concluded, ratify'd and sign'd, that maugre even Prince *Eugene* coming over to *England* to sollicit the Queen to abide her Assurances of making no Peace, but upon the Terms before-mention'd; the Conditions of the said Treaty had, as it were, the last Hand put to them before the opening of the next Campaign.

Thus

Thus we see how far the Thoughts of the Demolition of that important Maritime Fortress had influenc'd the *British* Councils; in this they play'd the *Materia prima* of a stipulated Treaty, in this the *Summum bonum*, and the happy Consequences that must necessarily attend so important a Work; so essential is it to Mankind to apply and seek for a proper Remedy to heal that Infection that wounds and galls their Nature.

When that Article about *Dunkirk* was assented to, the new Votaries to the Projects and Interests of *France*, did not suspect in the Assent, *latet Angues in herba*, that there lay a Snake in the Grass, that they design'd to build a new Fortress upon, or near the old Foundation. It is certain, that in this Case they had some Regard to Publick Faith, because they began within the limited Time to work on the Demolition of the Works towards the Sea; but placing their Security on the Land Side, they sent some Deputies from the Town to the late Queen *Anne*, of Glorious Memory, to beg a Respit for some stipulated Time, which was peremptorily refus'd; so that the Razing of the Works went on with a continued diligent Application, untill the whole was totally ruin'd.

The

The *French* King considering his Circumstances, and the fatal Necessity he was reduc'd to by the repeated Successes of the Allies, during the late War, was unwilling to give any Umbrage to the Crown of *Great Britain*, or to disgust them on any account whatsoever, being satisfied (nay farther, fully convinc'd) that the peaceable Possession of his Crown, and his present Tranquility, was owing to the Indulgence he had receiv'd from hence : For if the Duke of *Marlborough* had not clandestinely been dispossest of his Employ by the fatal Measures concerted at that time by a base and servile Faction, he must inevitably have lost his Metropolitan, which must have pay'd a Way for a total Reduction of his Provinces, and that he must of necessity be oblig'd to accept, at the Discretion of *Great-Britain*, of a Titular Power, and a Regal Authority.

This we find by Experience, how far a small and inconsiderable Number of *British* Troops, a Number not exceeding Eighteen Thousand, could influence the Fate of a tedious, expensive, and vigorous War ; and could by an unparallel'd Resolution prescribe Laws at that Time to a Kingdom, that is now become the Terror and the Umpire of the *European* World ; but to whom their present Grandeur is

B owing

owing, I will not pretend to determine ;
let the Result justify their Conduct.

But it must certainly seem very strange at present to a considerate, warlike, and potent Kingdom, that they must be obliged to submit to their capricious and tedious Determinations ; when not many Years ago, they were necessitated to truckle to our Measures, to agree to the Laws dictated by this Nation, and purchase a Peace at any Rate, even at the Expence of an immense Treasure ; but those Times are forgot, and they are now become our Rivals (if not our Superiors) to all our Pomp, Pride, Grandeur and Glory.

When a Kingdom is established under settled Constitutions, which are found to suit with the Dispositions of the People, those Constitutions are the Safety and Protection of that People, and the Change of such Ordinances has been always the Fore-runner of their Ruin and Destruction, which by History has been fatally verified in the *Athenian*, *Lacedemonians*, and even the *Romans* themselves ; for while those powerful and victorious Kingdoms were govern'd by Virtue, and not by Faction and Interest ; they were successful over their Enemies. But when Pride, Luxury and Ease, began to grow predominant, their Glory (like a Flower that is nip'd by
the

the Frost) began to fade, and they became contemptible to their despicable and effeminate Enemies.

Their Necessities were conspicuous by their Concession; for tho' the Ties of Nature bound *Lewis* the Fourteenth, firnam'd *Legrand*, not to determine to drive *Philip* out of *Spain*, in concert with the Allies, by force of Arms; yet he would have consented to have allow'd any Sums of Money to defray the Expences of that elaborate Work, which demonstrates his Willingness to agree to any Terms, rather than stand to the Mercy of a prosperous and victorious Army, which is certain, if Tradition be true; for the *French* Ministers offer'd at the Treaty of *Gertrudenburg*, that his most Christian Majesty should use all possible Means to persuade his Grandson to consent to the Partition propos'd by the Allies: That this required Time; but if that Prince would not acquiesce in this Proposal, the King their Master, tho' he could not consent to declare War against his Grandson, as specified in the 37th Preliminary Article, would however furnish a Sum of Money towards the Charge of the War, to be continued against him till he had surrender'd *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to the House of *Austria*; which Proposal was at that time rejected by the Allies, because that *Philip*

would not voluntarily consent to evacuate *Spain*, and content himself with *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, it would not only produce a Seperate, but a General Peace.

Since his concluding a Seperate Peace with *Great-Britain*, and the Separation of our National Troops, let us consider the Progress of his Arms against the Empire. He first undertakes the Siege of *Landau*, which he subdued in Fifty-six Days open Trenches, as appears by his Letter to Cardinal *de Noailles*.

C O U S I N,

‘ I Hop’d that after having used all possible Means for effecting a general Peace, my Plenipotentiaries assembled at *Utrecht*, with those of the Allies, would not seperate without concluding it. In fine, the Offers which they made on my Part, with those of my Grandson the King of *Spain*, were acknowledg’d to be so just and advantagious by the Potentates, with whom I was at war, that they judg’d they could not do better than accept them, tho’ the House of *Austria* alone (tho’ it found Advantages equally convenient that were propos’d to it) broke off all Negotiation, and oblig’d me, against my Will, to continue the War.

‘ In

‘ In that Necessity I assembled my Army,
 ‘ and judg’d that the Operations of the
 ‘ Campaign could not begin more useful,
 ‘ than by the Siege of *Landau*. The Ene-
 ‘ my knowing the Importance of that Place,
 ‘ had forgot nothing to put it into a State
 ‘ of Defence ; and augmented the Fortifi-
 ‘ cations of it, by a considerable Number
 ‘ of Works : But the Valour of my Officers
 ‘ and Troops, which could not be check’d
 ‘ by the Resistance of the besieged, nor by
 ‘ the Effects of their Mines and subter-
 ‘ raneous Preparations, has rendered all Pre-
 ‘ cautions fruitless ; the Place has been
 ‘ obliged to surrender, after fifty six Days
 ‘ open Trenches ; and twelve Batalions,
 ‘ of which the Garrison consisted, are made
 ‘ Prisoners of War.

‘ This happy Success gives me Ground
 ‘ to expect yet greater, and to hope that
 ‘ my Enemies, seeing the fatal Conse-
 ‘ quences of their Refusal, will at length
 ‘ open their Eyes to their true Interests:
 ‘ But as God alone can inspire into them
 ‘ the Spirit of Peace and Reconciliation,
 ‘ we must, in rendering him Thanks for
 ‘ the new Advantages with which he is
 ‘ pleased to favour the Justice of my Causes
 ‘ beseech him to vouchsafe to compleat his,
 ‘ Work by procuring for all *Europe* a solid
 ‘ and lasting Repose, which is the only
 Object

‘ object of my Desires. For these Causes,
 ‘ it is my Intention that *Te Deum* be sung
 ‘ in the Metropolitan Church of my good
 ‘ City of *Paris*, on the Day, and at the
 ‘ Hour which the great Master, or Master
 ‘ of the Ceremonies, shall appoint for me,
 ‘ and not doubting that you will discharge
 ‘ the Duty with your wanted Piety. I pray
 ‘ God to have you, *Cousin*, in his holy Pro-
 ‘ tection.

Written at Versailles,
 Aug. 29. 1710.

LOUIS.

The foregoing Siege being thus happily
 ended on the Part of *France*, the Maref-
 chal de *Villars* had Orders, if he could not
 draw the Enemy to a Battle, to form that
 of *Fryburgh*, as a Means to gain him a Pas-
 sage into *Bavaria*, and restore the Elector of
 that Name to his Dominions; when that
 General being not able to effect the first
 Enterprize, went upon the last, and hav-
 ing drawn away the Imperial General *Vau-
 bone*, who was posted under the Cannon of
 the Town, beleaguer'd the Place, which like-
 wise surrendered upon honourable Articles,
 whereupon the King of *France* address'd
 himself to the Cardinal de *Noailles* in these
 ms.

C O U S I N,

C O U S I N,

‘ A Fter having reduc’d *Landau* to my
‘ Obedience, I look’d upon the ta-
‘ king of *Fryburgh* as the most important
‘ Enterprize I could have in View, to open
‘ to my Arms an Entrance into *Germany*,
‘ in case the House of *Austria* and Princes
‘ of the Empire persisted in refusing, as
‘ they had done hitherto, to accept the
‘ most advantagious Conditions of Peace
‘ they can ever hope for. The Fortifica-
‘ tions of the Place, those of the Castle,
‘ built on steep, craggy, and unaccessible
‘ Rocks, a numerous Garrison, abundantly
‘ provided with all necessary Provisions
‘ and Ammunition for a long Defence, an
‘ intrench’d Camp which the Enemy had
‘ there, and which was supported by their
‘ grand Army. Every thing seem’d to
‘ render the Conquest impossible, but all
‘ those Obstacles have only proved so many
‘ Incentives to the Courage of my Troops.
‘ At their Approach the Enemy have re-
‘ tired, and abandon’d their fortified Camp;
‘ the Garrison has made the utmost Efforts
‘ for the Defence of the Town, but in
‘ vain; for the incredible Valour of the
‘ Besiegers has surmounted all, and there
‘ was not one single Attack that was not
‘ signalized by some bright Action, to the
‘ Glory of the *French* Nation. The Gover-
‘ nor

nor after a Months Resistance, retired
 into the Castle, abandoning the Town
 to the Discretion of the Conqueror, who
 would have exercis'd all the Severities in
 it which the Laws of War allow of, if it
 had not been preserved by the prudent
 Vigelence of the *Marschal de Villars* and
 those that commanded under him. Altho'
 the Castles might have held out much
 longer, yet the Governor being apprehensive
 to undergo with the Garrison the
 same Fate with that of *Landau*, surrendered
 the same by an honourable Capitulation
 which was granted them.

' Whatever Success the Conquest prepares
 for me in the next Campaign, I
 wish that I may have no Occasion to
 make use of it ; and that a general Peace
 may prevent whatever the Continuance
 of a War may procure me : But because
 God alone is the Giver of that necessary
 and so much wish'd for Peace, I ought
 without ceasing to beg it of him by my
 own Prayers, and those of all my People ;
 and at the same Time to return him
 Thanks for the visible Protection he continues
 to vouchsafe me. I therefore write
 you this Letter to let you know, that it
 is my Will that you cause *Te Deum* to be
 sung in the Metropolitan Church of my
 good City of *Paris*, on the Day, and at
 the Hour which the great Master, or the
 Master

* Master of the Ceremonies shall appoint
 * from me, and not doubting that you will
 * discharge this Duty with your wanted
 * Piety. Pray God to have you, *Cousin*,
 * in his holy and worthy Keeping.

Written at Versailles,
 Nov. 25, 1713.

L O U I S.

What followed after, was a Project form'd between *France* and *Great-Britain* for the Relief of *Sweden*, by sending him Assistance of Ships, Men and Money, to protect him against the Insults of his Enemies, who was in great Danger (after having lost the fine Provinces of *Livonia*, *Finland*, &c.) of being depriv'd of the Dutchy of *Pomerania*, but upon the Demise of Queen *Anne*, that Scheme was lay'd aside as impracticable, upon the Accession of his late Majesty to this Throne, well knowing that the King of *Prussia*, who was his Son-in-Law, and had the strong Fortrefs of *Stetin* put into his Hands by way of Sequestration, was entering into a League offensive and defensive with the *Northern* Confederates, and would, in all Probability, have Interest enough with his Father-in-Law, to bring him over to the same Party.

The King of *France* was likewise very justly apprehensive that King *George* would not tamely bear the Infraction of the Treaty of *Utrecht* that *France* had been the

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Cause

Cause of, by making a Harbour at *Mar-dyke* in the Room of that which had been filled up at *Dunkirk*, as his Predecessor the Queen had done, he therefore wisely resolved not to give him any farther Occasion for Jealousy, in hopes that he would be thereby induced to overlook the vast and expensive Work that was working at the above-mentioned Place, a Work no less prejudicial to the common and united Interest of *Great-Britain*. In order to cultivate the Amity subsisting betwixt the two Crowns, he sent the Marquiss *de Torcy* to acquaint the Chevalier *St. George* (who was obliged by the former Treaty not to come into the Territories of the King of *France*, and was at that Time coming post thro' them to embark for his pretended Kingdoms) that he could by no Means consent to his Passage, having sworn to the Recognition of the Protestant Succession.

But King *George* on his Accession to the Imperial Crown, just after his Arrival in *England*, saw too well what Schemes and Projects were upon the Anvil at that Court not to provide against them. After thanking his most Christian Majesty by his Plenipotentiary Mr. *Prior* for his good Offices, in not suffering the Pretender to his Crown and Dignities to disturb him in the Possession of it, caused the following Memorial to be delivered by the said Minister.

The

The MEMORIAL.

THE underwritten Plenipotentiary Minister to the King of Great-Britain, has Orders from the King his Master, to represent to your Majesty, that having heard the Report of the Commissaries and Engineers, sent to view the State of the Fortifications and Port of Dunkirk, his Majesty is very much surprized to hear, that notwithstanding the Instances and Representations made on the Part of Great-Britain, to execute the Ninth Article of the Peace concluded at Utrecht, the said Port is so little fill'd up, that there can still, to this Day, as great Ships as formerly pass by the Old Canal up to the Hornwork of the Town. So long as the Canal remains, it cannot be denied, that there is still at Dunkirk a Port of a Thousand Fathoms long, and consequently able to receive many Thousand Ships. The Words of the Treaty are, Portum compleatur (that the Haven shall be fill'd up) Aggeres aut Moles deruantur (that the Dykes which form the Canal shall be destroyed.) We appeal even unto your Majesty's own Engineers, if the Haven be fill'd up, and if the Dykes be destroy'd. The King his Master is very much persuaded, that your Majesty, being fully inform'd of this Fact, will give your strict Orders, that at

last that shall be accomplished, which (according to the Words of the Treaty) ought to be done above a Year ago. The same Minister has Orders to represent to your Majesty, that the Surprize of the King his Master has been still greater when he was told, that, notwithstanding the said Ninth Article, which expressly says, Ne dictia, monumenta, portus, moles, aut Aggeres denuo unquam reficiantur, (That the Fortifications, the Port, the Moles, or the Dykes of Dunkirk, shall never be rebuilt) that they are actually at work in making a new Port, much larger than the Old Canal, which as well as the Old Haven, goes up to the Town of Dunkirk; and the Foundation of a Sluice (much greater than the former, which serv'd to clean the Old Mole) is lay'd, which serves to the same Uses and Purposes with the former: The King my Master is perswaded, that upon this my Remonstrance, your Majesty will give Orders and Direction to suspend that Work, so detrimental to the Interest of Great-Britain, and contrary to the Tenure of the Treaty of Utrecht.

P R I O R.

As for my part, Mr. D'Anvers, I cannot imagine what Dependance any Nation can have on the Friendship of such a People as the French are, who are as inconstant and wavering as a Weathercock, that varies and changes with every Gust of Wind;

Wind ; and who are not to be rely'd on any farther than Time and Opportunity offer, to put their concerted Designs in Execution, and to serve their ambitious Purposes.

We expected great Matters from that imaginary Peace of *Utrecht*, but *parturiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus*, the Mountains in Labour and out jumps a Mouſe ; *Spain* and *France* were reduced to that low Ebb, that they were obliged to have recourse to their wonted Politicks to retrieve their desperate Fortune ; they were fully convinced that *Dunkirk* was a Thorn in the Side of *Great Britain*, which they would eradicate if possible, and that it was a Town that could be easier parted with than with the *Metropolitan*, which must inevitably have followed the same Fate with the *French* Conquest in the *Netherlands*, and which they were satisfy'd must of consequence have fallen into our Hands, maugre their Bulwarks and their boasted Security.

Let us then consider what Benefit that Concession was to us. It was a pretty *Guinea* to satisfy for a while a peevish and forward Child. Let it suffice, we put them to the Expence of Demolishing one impregnable Fortrefs, one secure Harbour for their Shipping, to build another of the same

same Efficacy and the same Importance to them, whose Situation is as commodious, and whose Station is as advantageous as the former.

But now our *just Apprehensions* are vanished, the *Menaces of Foreign Violence* no longer terrify, since the *TREATY*, so dubious, and so long in Suspence, is at last *Sign'd and Confirm'd*; at least we are assur'd, that a Courier is arriv'd with the joyful News. But whether this *Treaty* be a *French Political* one, (for now it seems we copy after them in their Sentiments as well as in their Habits) let the Judicious determine when it comes to be made publick; As for my part, Mr. *D'Anvers*, I am so far induced to believe there is a *Treaty* signed, but what Sort of a *Treaty* I am at present in the Dark.

During the late War *France* frequently proposed Conferences for a general Peace, and buoy'd up his Subjects with the fond Ideas of an approaching Tranquility, to encourage them to bear patiently the Burthen of a tedious and expensive War abroad, and the pressing Necessities of a miserable Scarcity and a visible Decay of their Trade at home; but whether it was owing to that Nation that this *Treaty* was not signed before, I am not at present
to

to say, but leave every one to their own Thoughts; though at the same Time, Mr. *D'Anvers*, believe your Opinion and mine are alike upon this *Treaty*, but I hope you will give us an Account of the Substance of this *Spanish Treaty* in one of your ensuing Papers.

I have read, Mr. *D'Anvers*, of some great Men in Foreign Countries (if History may be depended on) who (for the sake of temporary Splendour and Command) care not tho' they drive the Chariot Wheels of their Ambition over the Necks of a ruin'd and miserable People. Thus we behold (where Tyranny rages in Perfection) on *Ibrahim Bassaw*, in all his Pomp and Glory, drag'd to the Block to atone for the Oppression of an incens'd Multitude, with the Loss of his Criminal Head; and therefore *Thuanus* reflecting on his Calamity, A most remarkable Example, saith he, to those who, for sake of their Sicophants and Parasites, whose Favour they have won by unseemly and pernicious Devotion, trample under foot the general Hatred of all others; whereas they ought to imitate those Persons, who being advanced to high Preferments, so behave themselves in the Discharge of their Duty, and the Trust and Confidence that was repos'd in them, that they may be always ready to part with their Preferments, and
not

not be afraid to retire to a private Life, if it be their Fortune to be remov'd. Otherwise it many times falls out, that they are left to the free Revenge of those whom they have injur'd and oppress'd, and are hurry'd away, unpitied and unlamented, to open Punishment, for the Satisfaction of Popular Indignation.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.



W. RALEIGH.